EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

THE Nation

NOVEMBER 26, 1955

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# SEQUEL TO GENEVA

*by Terence Prittie*

## THE ISSUE: FREEDOM

Place: The Supreme Court

*by David L. Weissman*

## THE RUSTED GATE

McCarran-Walter Politics

*by J. Campbell Bruce*

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# Letters

## Peace Proposal

Dear Sirs: Everybody wants peace. Nobody wants war. We all—the people on both sides of the cold war—know that outright war would be disastrous to all. Yet governments continue with competitive armaments, with irreconcilable declarations in regard to objectives, and with dangerous maneuvers along the precipice of war.

Our relentless military strategists recognize that we must avoid war, but insist that we must keep on maintaining and developing our "defensive" might so as to hold off attack from the other side, which is pursuing exactly the same "defensive" strategy. This so-called "balance-of-power" system is conceived as the "practical" way to prevent war; that it will gradually lead to settlement of disputes, and so will bring about "realistic" conditions of peace.

History furnishes little support for the balance-of-power approach to peace. It shows quite definitely the contrary. Competitive armaments and warlike stances lead almost inevitably to war. Furthermore, balance-of-power groups are notoriously unstable; then group break-ups create extra incitements to war. History—and common sense—both show that the continued cold-war course will probably lead to actual war and world disaster.

Well then, what can and should we do for safe achievement of peace? In general the answer is simple, if only governments could be induced to use sense, and to formulate policies and programs accordingly. What is needed, first, is a definite two-sided agreement on a clear-cut peace program, and, second, effective enforcement of the agreement.

First, the agreement. This must provide at the outset for complete military disarmament by the key nations in the competitive power groups, and finally must apply to all nations with military potentials. The agreed-to disarmament must include all kinds of bombs and the means of carrying or projecting them, all air, naval, and land forces and their equipment, and all instrumentalities that can be used for military aggression and war. Only police forces with limited armaments would be retained by individual nations to provide against internal disorders; but strict control would be necessary to prevent conversion of internal-police forces into military contingents that might be used for aggression and war.

Second, effective enforcement. The agreement must provide explicitly for an appropriate administrative agency which, through its own inspection and military forces, would carry out the terms of the agreement. The agency must furnish assurance, first, that all nations will actually disarm; second, that none will clandestinely rearm; third, that no nation can or will attack another. It must have appropriate organization—with full responsibility and power—to enforce the peace agreement. Each nation must be able to rely safely on enforcement; otherwise it must be left free to decide on internal affairs and dealings with other nations.

The best available enforcement agency would be the United Nations, through the Security Council. This body, however, would have to be transformed into a positive administrative organ, without being subject to veto by any nation, also without policy-making power except on enforcement decisions. It would have the full duty and power to maintain peace in accordance with the international agreement.

Such an administrative body is essential to a reliable and enforcable peace program. Mere agreement for disarmament is no good, nor are agreed-to partial steps toward disarmament. Outright full-disarmament, with effective enforcement, is essential. Here has been the dual lack of the present United Nations and of the past League of Nations; neither provided squarely for disarmament and reliable enforcement.

TO ESTABLISH the necessary enforcement agency will be a fundamental and essential part of the outright peace agreement. Until we have such an overall agreement, with reliable enforcement, we cannot have peace; we shall continue constantly on the brink of war, shall have to bear the enormous burdens of military preparedness, and shall remain in dubious position as to our world objectives.

I shall make three procedural suggestions. First and foremost, that the United States government submit the proposed peace plan to our main allies and then to Russia. There is, of course, the possibility that Russia would agree; if so, peace would be on the way. If not, we should certainly gain enormously in prestige as honest-to-goodness supporters of peace.

Second, since there is little probability of our government submitting a clean-cut peace plan unless strongly pressed to do so, clear-seeing individuals might write to the President, the Secretary of State, and to their Senators and Congressmen, and urge adoption and submission of the plan. Local peace groups could be organized, and peace resolutions forwarded to the responsible government officials. Grass-roots pressure is important.

Third, that The Nation espouse the plan and furnish much needed leadership for discussion and promotion of peace essentials. There are many aspects of the plan that reasonably involve detailed explanation and consideration, which naturally had to be by-passed here; questions and letters to The Nation would help toward fruitful discusion of what is needed for a peaceful and decent world.

JOHN BAUER

Chatham, N. J.

## Determining Factor?

Dear Sirs: It seems to me that in his article on the White Citizens Councils, in the October 22 issue, Mr. Wakefield omitted one pertinent fact: Mississippi's present attorney general and governor-elect, J. P. Coleman, drew up the state charter for this group, and spoke before every local chapter immediately prior to his formal announcement of his candidacy for governor. Many people consider this a determining factor during the August primaries; Coleman is the first person since 1923 to win the governorship in his first campaign for that office.

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EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

# The Shape of Things

## Geneva: The Second Round

The American political impulse to blow hot and cold, to swing from one extreme to another, is much in evidence in editorial post-mortems on the Geneva conference. On all sides—or nearly so—one is told that "the Geneva spirit" has vanished into thin air; that "the cold war is on again"; that "the glowing sunlight of July" has given way to "the chill of an Alpine November." Oddly enough these bursts of gloom-and-doom have emanated from much the same sources that were so lyrical about "the Geneva spirit" last summer. Perhaps because we did not share the exuberance of July we cannot accept the gloom of November.

There was little justification for the belief that agreement might be reached at Geneva on the issues of German unification and European security. Neither side went to the "second round" with new constructive proposals; not enough time had elapsed for new attitudes to emerge. Both sides were captives of the past, caught in a tangle of policies, positions, and pronouncements which could not be modified or abandoned. Nevertheless, as Edmund Stevens notes in the *Christian Science Monitor,* "the shadow of fear which hung over the Berlin session" was notably missing at Geneva. For a tacit accord was reached at the summit conference not to engage in mutual nuclear extermination. This accord has not been rescinded nor is it likely to be. Hence there is no more reason to believe that "the cold war is on again" than that the conditions for peaceful coexistence have been established. What we have at the moment, as one correspondent puts it, is "an interval of coattrition," a period in which both sides can, if they will, prepare to retreat from some of their fixed positions. Even Russia's curt refusal to encourage increased cultural contacts—the most disappointing aspect of the conference—should not obscure the fact that contacts have increased this last year and will evidently continue to increase.

The public's disappointment is due more to the false hopes raised by Mr. Dulles that the Soviets might accept Western terms on Germany, just to demonstrate that they are good fellows, than to the results of the conference, which were clearly foreseeable. More disturbing is the fact that the Administration seems to be of two minds about them. Charles E. Wilson, back from Geneva, is confident that the results do not imply "an intensification of the cold war" but the *Journal of Commerce* (November 17) quotes an unnamed "high policy-maker . . . an Eisenhower official" as saying that "there is no doubt in high Administration circles that the cold war is being renewed." Fortunately Mr. Wilson, not his unnamed colleague, is still Secretary of Defense.

## Japan on the March

With the Japanese Ambassador assuring the National Foreign Trade Convention in New York that Japan's economic life, "her very being as a free, democratic nation," depends on her ability to sell to this country a volume of goods more nearly equal to that which it buys here; and with Representative Francis E. Walter (didn't the Democrats used to be free-traders?) assuring the National Association of Blouse Manufacturers on the same day that the sixteen-fold increase in the volume of imported Japanese blouses threatens the American cotton-blouse industry with "absolute destruction," an issue has been joined on what promises to be a major battle over trade policies.

Two aspects of this issue have not been widely noted. One is the sensational Japanese economic recovery. In two years, Japan's trade exports have nearly doubled; for the first time in the post-war period its trade balance is actually in the black. According to a dispatch by Keyes Beech which appeared in the Toronto *Star* of November 11, Japanese foreign-exchange reserves are three times more than West Germany's. Its trade boom, moreover, shows remarkable diversification: pajamas, oil tankers, cameras, fertilizers, shipbuilding, textiles. Its textile industry, rebuilt since the war with American aid, is thoroughly modern and highly competitive. The second neglected aspect of the issue is closely related to the first. Not long ago Japan's textile workers, the lowest paid in the world, went on strike—140,000 strong—against Japan's "big ten" manufacturers. The strike was called by the All-Japan Textile Workers Union, an affiliate of Zenro, a moderate, responsible federation. According to Gordon Walker in a report to the *Christian Science Monitor,* the average Japanese textile worker's wage before the strike was roughly $34 a month, of which about $10 is earmarked for taxes. The Japanese Seamen's Union and the British Trade Union Congress were prepared, at the outset, to give full support to the strike. But dissension developed within the union, some groups returned to work, and soon the strike was broken, leaving the workers' deplorable status virtually unchanged. It is apparent

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that Japan's "very being as a free, democratic nation" does not depend on the payment of a living wage to its textile workers, mostly young girls just out of high school who, pleased with the slight increase their strike won, passively toddled off to their straw-mat dormitories.

## Civil Liberties Scoreboard

The composition of the twelve-man commission belatedly appointed by President Eisenhower, Vice-President Nixon, and House Speaker Rayburn, pursuant to a resolution which Congress adopted last summer, reflects a firm bipartisan determination to keep the loyalty-security issue in mothballs during the 1956 campaign. Not a single member named, notes Americans for Democratic Action, "has distinguished himself in the field of civil liberties." Were these the only individuals in the nation who could pass the special security-clearance tests which must have been improvised for this commission? Note, too, that the commission must file its final report on December 31, 1956—shortly after the votes have been counted.

Fortunately Senator Hennings's subcommittee, after backing away from the issue of religious freedom, has gotten off to a good start with its hearings on the First Amendment. Alexander Meiklejohn, Zechariah Chafee, Jr., Morris Ernst, and Dr. Thomas I. Cook testified in a forthright manner that has doubtless disqualified all of them from government employment under present security tests. Dr. Meiklejohn, in particular, demonstrated a Holmesian instinct for the jugular. "The question, 'Are you a Republican?' or 'Are you a Communist?' when accompanied by the threat of harmful or degrading consequences . . . is an intolerable invasion of the reserved powers of the governing people." There is a radical error, he said, in the theory that we must balance security against freedom; freedom is our security.

## Freedom Minus Two

The death, within a few days of each other, of two such citizens as Bernard de Voto and Robert Sherwood leaves those of us who treasure freedom feeling unsupported and lonely. De Voto was a student of the American past and a critic of its present; he chided us to our advantage. Sherwood, more directly active in his country's affairs, was perhaps the most persuasive idealist of our time. The men were alike in that they understood the business of being free men in a free society. They worked hard at being useful citizens; it never occurred to them that this was a reason for praise, or that others might be doing less.

A special issue of The Nation on the status of the American labor movement, originally scheduled for December 3, will appear on December 10.

# THE ISSUE: FREEDOM

## Place: The Court . . *by David L. Weissman*

*Washington*

IN ITS COURTROOM, velvet-draped between massive Greek pillars and acoustically so wretched that the voices from the bench are almost still-born, the Supreme Court heard argument in the case brought by the Communist Party challenging the order of the Subversive Activities Control Board directing it to register under the McCarran Internal Security Act of 1950. The case, raising as it does issues that go to the very foundation of our democratic system, would be of first importance at any time. What lends it added importance is that it comes to the highest court at a time when a general reappraisal, in which the courts are participating, of the past decade's direction is taking place in the country.

Yet, though the Justices and counsel treated the issues with gravity, there was somehow lacking that air of momentousness which the case should have evoked. The courtroom was hardly more than half-full. Only a few lawyers were present as observers. And the press found the small section allotted to it more than ample. Whether this lack of attention was because Washington is now between Congressional sessions or because it has come to take such affairs, so important from the point of view of a provincial from New York, in stride, this observer cannot say.

The Internal Security Act of 1950 imposes a variety of registration, reporting, and labeling requirements, civil disabilities, and criminal sanctions on "Communist-action" and "Communist-front" organizations and their members. The act creates the Subversive Activities Control Board and provides that an organization found by it to be one of those mentioned in the act must register; must label its publications and literature as being disseminated and identify its radio and television broadcasts as being sponsored by a Communist organization; must file an itemized statement of all funds

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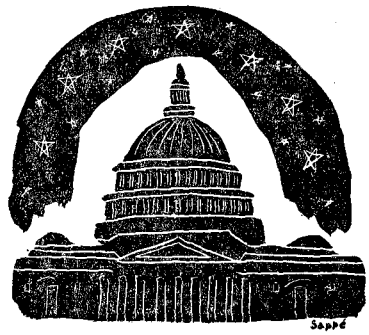
received and their sources, as well as a vast amount of other information, including the printing machines, duplicating machines, etc., which they own or have an interest in, and must, in the case of a "Communist-action" organization, file a list of members along with their addresses.

In the case of a "Communist-front" organization, the same result is accomplished by regulations providing that a list containing the names and addresses of all donors, which includes all dues-paying members, must be filed. A member of a "Communist-action" organization must register if the organization fails to register or if it does but fails to list him. The standards of membership, especially as supplemented by the Communist Control Act of 1954, are very broad and vague. Some of the tests are whether the putative member has imparted any information to anyone in behalf of the organization, has indicated a willingness to carry out "any" of its purposes or has "in any other way" participated in its objectives.

THE CIVIL disabilities imposed by the act upon members, aside from the stigma attached to registration, include: denial of the right to apply for or use a passport; prohibition of holding any non-elective government position or office or employment in a labor organization, and, in the case of a member of a "Communist-action" organization, employment in any defense facility, whether related to classified material or not; denaturalization if recently naturalized; ineligibility for naturalization if an alien; and deportation. Violation is punishable by imprisonment or fine, the severity in some instances being very great. For example, in the event a member under a duty to register fails to do so he is punishable by imprisonment not exceeding five years or a fine not exceeding $10,000, each day of failure constituting a separate offense.

Immediately involved in the case before the Court is that portion of the act which relates to "Communist-action" organizations. The lower court, Judge Bazelon dissenting, had affirmed an order of the S. A. C. B. finding the Communist Party such an organization and directing it to register. In the Supreme Court briefs as friends of the court urging reversal were filed by the American Civil Liberties Union, the National Lawyers Guild, and 360 prominent citizens—three Nobel-prize winners, scientists, artists, clergymen, educators, doctors, lawyers, and one United States Senator (McNamara of Michigan). The American Bar Association filed a brief as friend of the court urging affirmance.

The government's brief defends



the act on the basis that it is no more than a disclosure regulation and that such infringement as it imposes on the First Amendment guaranties of freedom of association and expression are indirect and justified by the needs of national security. The American Bar Association's brief argues in the familiar fashion of "Heresy, Yes—Conspiracy, No," that no one's freedom of thought or speech is controlled by the act "unless they result from foreign domination of the Communist movement." It also argues that the act is only a statute for disclosure.

The Communist Party attacks the claim that the act is a mere disclosure regulation as a pose. It argues that the act was designed to outlaw the party and to punish its officers and members solely for their association, and provides a basis for similar treatment of other organizations. The briefs of the 360 citizens and the Lawyers Guild argue that, while the act was ostensibly framed as a disclosure measure, it operates in practice to destroy, or at least hopelessly cripple, all organizations found to come within it. The briefs of the friends of the court concern themselves especially with the impact the act, if sustained, will have on the freedom of the people generally. They urge that interference with the First Amendment freedoms of any group is bound to have a deleterious effect on the political health of the whole community. They urge further that the standards of what constitute "Communist front" and membership are so broad that any organization or person whose policies or views do not differ sharply from those of the Communist Party on any public issue has reason to fear possible application of the act. And the guild's brief warns that, if upheld, the precedent would furnish a basis for state power over Socialist, Zionist, Roman Catholic, scientific, and cultural organizations or any other groups with international affiliations and over organizations which support or are influenced by them although they have no international affiliation of their own. The brief of the 360 citizens argues that the act "legislates a new orthodoxy" and that it raises a real and present danger which "may cause us to lose sight of our own heritage and to destroy it in the name of defending it." Finally, all the briefs emphasize that the act is an effort to thwart normal, legitimate functioning, and not merely that which is illegitimate, and argue that, since the established test is *what* is done and said and not *who* does or says it, the act is too sweeping to be constitutional.

IN ADDITION to the First Amendment issues mentioned the case presents a number of others, among them the following: Whether the registration requirements violate the Fifth Amendment privilege against self-incrimination (the ground on which Judge Bazelon dissented); whether the evidence before the S. A. C. B. supports its finding that the party is under foreign domination so as to constitute it a "Communist-action" organization within the definition of the act; and whether the lower court erred in denying the party's application for leave to adduce additional evidence in relation to Harvey Matusow and others who were witnesses against it in the proceeding.

Three hours were assigned for argument to both sides. The party's hour and a half was divided by John J. Abt of New York City and Joseph Forer of Washington, its two counsel. Solicitor General Simon E. Sobeloff alone argued for the government.

Most of the questions were addressed to the solicitor general and



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touched mainly on the First and Fifth Amendment aspects of the case. The Chief Justice wanted to know whether it was within Congressional power "to proscribe innocent, legal activities as well as illegal." Apparently not satisfied with Mr. Sobeloff's answer, he used a homely illustration: Could you, he asked, prevent a group from engaging in cattle-ranching simply because they also were cow-stealing? The solicitor general remarked that the party was using its legal activities as a base and cover for its illegal activities. The Chief Justice then asked, suppose running a cattle ranch is helpful to cattle-stealing, is there power to proscribe both? Mr. Sobeloff answered that we are not dealing here with a political party, but with a conspiracy—echoes of "Heresy, Yes—Conspiracy, No" again. A little later, Justice Black asked whether he justified the treatment the act metes out to its target on the ground that they are Communists. The solicitor general answered, "No, because they are conspirators."

WHEN Mr. Sobeloff mentioned the required registration of lobbyists as justifying the registration required under the present act, Justice Black observed that there was no similarity between the two in view of the areas in which they operate. The Chief Justice then pointed to another distinction. He said there is no sanction if one registers under the former whereas the very act of registration is what starts the sanctions under the latter. An amusing moment developed in this connection. Justice Reed looked surprised when, in answer to his question whether the party is disadvantaged by being required to register, the solicitor general said, "Oh, yes, this wasn't done to make the party comfortable."

On the Fifth Amendment, the Chief Justice asked what would happen to an officer of the party who failed to file a registration statement, could he plead the immunity of that Amendment? The solicitor general, taking Eugene Dennis as an example, answered that Mr. Dennis is so well known that he is not likely to want to avail himself of the plea and probably would not have the right to do so. Then, with a smile, the Chief Justice said, "Wasn't the act designed to disclose those not known?" Some discussion tangential

to this developed, and Mr. Sobeloff remarked, "I don't have to stand here to defend every act of Congress." "That wouldn't be a fair burden to put on you," observed Justice Frankfurter, withdrawing into the depths of his chair. The courtroom responded with a burst of laughter.

Only one more incident of some possible meaning needs to be mentioned. When Justice Reed asked Mr. Forer whether the act did not permit members to escape the sanctions imposed on them by withdrawing, Mr. Forer replied, "Yes, at a sacrifice of their constitutional rights to remain members without sanctions." The solicitor general several times urged the possibility of a member's withdrawal to escape the sanctions. When he once said in response to a question by the Chief Justice that a member "can get out," the Chief Justice observed, again smiling affably, "Yes."

It will probably be several months before the court hands down its decision. What is it likely to be? Prophecy of a decision in a case based on oral argument is a foolish undertaking. And there is little in the rulings of the court during the past several years to give encouragement to those who hope for a reversal. Yet certain recent developments, taken together with the trend of the argument, give some promise that a majority may be found for such a ruling.

Many signs point to the setting in of a revulsion against the past decade's extravagances, and a national soul-searching seems to be taking place. The hearings before Senator Henning's Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights, which opened here last week, is perhaps the most dramatic indication of this new mood. The more sensitive are filled with shame that the Junior Senator from Wisconsin and the former Senator from Nevada should have become symbols of a nation the world once admired for its love of freedom, and are determined to advance the efforts, launched by President Eisenhower at Geneva, to erase from the world's eye the false image of us as a frightened, belligerent people on the primrose path to authoritarianism. They are embarrassed by the gibe flung at them by even our best friends that for us democracy is, in Mr. Stevenson's phrase, "for export only."

There is a growing awareness that what is at stake is not the Communist Party or the Communists, but the American heritage of freedom. In 1954, Congress added "Communist-infiltrated" organizations to the two mentioned in the 1950 act. No one can tell, if the act is upheld, what group may be subjected to similar treatment if not tomorrow, sometime after tomorrow. Those who at the moment regard themselves as safe would do well to remember that so did once Ladejinsky and Lattimore, Dr. Gordon and Dr. Peters, the Monmouth group, and a host of others. And as Justice Jackson remarked in the Dennis case: "It is true that Communists are the current phobia in Washington. But always, since I can remember, some group is being investigated and castigated." Like peace, freedom is indivisible, and, like fashions, enemies change. Tom Paine's warning has special meaning for our day. "He that would make his own liberty secure must guard even his enemy from oppression; for if he violates his duty, he establishes a precedent that will reach to himself." The premise of our democratic system has been that constitutional guaranties must be accorded even those whose aims are anti-democratic.

THE PREMISE has been justified by our history. Many social gains, once deemed radical and harmful and now accepted as moderate and salutary, have been won by orderly and peaceful means because their advocates were accorded the freedom to espouse them. Had their advocacy been suppressed, not only would we have lost the gains but the advocates,



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given no alternative, might have been tempted to violent means to achieve them. Even ideas and projects ultimately proved false and wrong can be useful guides to true and right action. Freedom is then not only a precious good in itself, but has great social utility.

The new Chief Justice seems to share these attitudes. His opinion in the Quinn case contains reaffirmations that hold much promise of a restoration of some of our badly-tattered liberties to full vigor. The power to investigate, he wrote, "cannot be used to inquire into private affairs unrelated to a valid legislative purpose," does not "extend to an area in which Congress is forbidden to legislate," and "must not be confused with any of the powers of law enforcement." Since his advent, the Court's record in the area of civil liberties has improved somewhat, as witness the decisions in the Quinn and Emspack Fifth Amendment cases, in the spring of this year, and the decision in the Toth court-martial case, the denial of certiorari in the Wisconsin case striking down the Gwinn amendment to the Housing Act and the granting of certiorari to the defendants in the West Coast Smith Act prosecution (the first since the ruling in the Dennis case), in the term beginning this October.

It may therefore happen that the Court, under its present aegis, chastened like many of the rest of us by the hurts that the recent lapses have inflicted at home and the decline in moral standing and prestige they have brought us abroad, will make this case the occasion for calling a halt to the curtailment of rights and privileges which only a few years ago seemed well-established and secure and a revitalization of the Constitution. Its earlier rulings, retrogressive as they have been, are no bar to this consummation, for in none of them has infringement on First Amendment guaranties been so far-reaching. In any event, as Justice Hughes once observed, the Constitution means what the Supreme Court says it means. And what was it that Mr. Dooley said about the Supreme Court?

# SEQUEL TO GENEVA

## Priority for Bonn's Army . . . *by Terence Prittie*

*Bonn*

THIS Geneva Conference has been the worst shock to the German people—both the 50,000,000 of the Federal Republic and the 18,000,000 of Communist East Germany—since the end of the war. A bare three weeks ago German hopes were set high, and for the following reasons. Chancellor Konrad Adenauer had returned from Moscow less than a month before with the promise that the German prisoners would be sent home from the Soviet Union. In return, direct diplomatic relations would be opened between Bonn and Moscow, giving the federal government a material chance of doing something to secure German reunification. The Soviet leaders had talked seriously of further reducing tension in Europe. Among the Western democracies there was a commendable unity of purpose and a new determination to press for German unity.

What, from the European and—more especially—the German points of view, has the Geneva Conference achieved? The answer, which is literally nothing, must seem incredible to Germans who have had such immense faith in Dr. Adenauer's policy of "negotiating from strength."

For Molotov refused to agree to the holding of free all-German elections. He asked for the creation of an all-German council instead and declared that none of the Communist "achievements" of Eastern Germany would be surrendered. He made it clear that the "lean kine" of the Soviet zone should swallow up the fat kine of the Federal Republic. Further, he refused to agree to the Western plans for the inspection of armaments. Nor would he discuss the ruble rate or the end of wireless jamming.

HOW do the chief European nations analyze the Geneva failure? Even more important, what will its effect be on Germany?

The British Foreign Minister, Harold Macmillan, has evinced a certain amount of righteous indignation over Molotov's blunt rejection of Western proposals on both German reunification and disarmament. This indignation does not strike a chord in the people of Britain. As they see it, the division of Germany is merely the unfortunate result of a war waged by Hitler. Disarmament touches them far more nearly, for the burden of defense is considerable and is felt more than ever precisely at this moment, when the Chancellor of the Exchequer is planning feverishly to avert a price-wage spiral and a serious inflation. It was not surprising that, on the day when Mr. Macmillan was bitterly reproaching Molotov, a British peer, Lord Coleraine, told a Manchester audience that the best hope for the future lay in twenty years of peaceful coexistence, based on existing boundaries in Europe, and the continued division of Germany.

The French interest in German reunification is remote and many Frenchmen still argue that European peace can be best maintained if Germany stays divided. French interest on progressive disarmament, on the other hand, is very great. With the festering sore of North Africa, the lack of manpower for French economy, and the desperate struggle for existence of the Faure government, France has drifted into an uncertain political backwater. Its hold on the Saar has been weak-

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ened; it has been quite unable to put its four divisions stationed on German soil on a war footing. The thinning out of Russian and Western garrisons in Germany would have been a tremendous boon. At Geneva, French Foreign Minister Antoine Pinay was able to register appropriate wrath over the ruin of the conference. But his wrath had little to do with German reunification.

Both the British and French explanations of the Geneva failure follow conventional lines. There seems to be a wide measure of agreement on two points. The first is that Molotov came to Geneva in order to reassert Soviet sponsorship and control of the Communist satellite countries. Eastern Germany is one of these, and one which plays a big role in Soviet strategic thinking. It does not merely bring the Red Army within sixty miles of the Rhine and make the Baltic—in the absence of a worthwhile Swedish navy—into a Russian lake; its continued existence as a People's Republic offers a guarantee of security to Poland and Czechoslovakia. Soviet leaders have taken note of such organizations as the Crusade for European Freedom and Radio Free Europe, and they must believe that the surrender and democratization, in the Western sense, of Eastern Germany would be followed by Western ideological pressure on other important links in their girdle of satellite states.

THE second point which emerges immediately from Geneva is that Molotov found it necessary to redefine the Russian interpretation of "peaceful coexistence." From the Russian point of view, the cold war does not need to be revived in its toughest aspects. But the ideological conflict between East and West must go on. Indeed, it is hard now to visualize what else could have been expected. Any faltering in the ideological war would loosen the Soviet hold on the satellites, perhaps bringing spontaneous upsurges of the type of the June 17, 1953, rising in Eastern Germany; or it could bring Titoism and the relapse of the satellites into the role of neutrals between East and West.

The Russian redefinition of the "Geneva spirit," as the London *Sunday Observer* pointed out, meant the ratification of the military and ideological stalemate between the two world powers, the United States and the U. S. S. R.

The sufferers in this case are the Germans, whose extreme disappointment has been matched by their equally extreme muddlement over developments. Here, for instance, are some of the first German reactions to the failure of a conference which primarily concerned them:

Foreign Minister Heinrich von Brentano—whose voice is the most authoritative on such subjects as long as Adenauer is tied to his home by illness—said that there was an acute danger of the resumption of the cold war. Federal Vice-Chancellor Franz Bluecher urged that no sign of weakness should be shown, for this would only encourage the Russians to apply yet more relentless pressure. The great task for the Federal Republic was still to convince the Russians that a peaceful, united Germany would offer greater security to the Soviet Union than a continuation of the hectic game of power politics in central Europe.

The Social Democratic leaders, Erich Ollenhauer and Wilhelm Mellies, called for a further relaxation of European tension. They believed that the Western powers still held far more cards in their hand than they evidently realized. Concessions could be made to the Russians over Germany—even to the point of opening "technical" talks between East and West Germans and excluding a reunified Germany from NATO.

The B. H. E. Refugee Party, which recently has left the federal government coalition, added a significant footnote of its own. Both the Soviets and the Western powers, it maintained, had been too interested in their own tactics and their own selfish motives. The B. H. E. proposed internationally supervised elections, to be conducted separately in both parts of Germany. The two German administrations thus created could settle down to the task of "equalizing" conditions, social and economic, between East and West Germany. This would meet two Russian objections. The Soviet Union would not be committed to withdrawing its troops from German soil and leave a unified Germany in the Western camp. Nor would a democratically elected German Parliament—as envisaged by the "Eden Plan" and furiously rejected by Molotov—simply obliterate the Communist trademarks from Eastern German life—the radical land reform, the state socialized industries, the "working-class front" of the Socialist Unity Party, even the People's Police.

The B. H. E. reaction is significant because it represents the one concrete German idea which has evolved from the Geneva failure. Thus the independent Hamburg paper, *Die Welt*, at once wrote demanding a "German initiative" in order to break the deadlock. The Federal Republic should, if necessary, withdraw from NATO and the military status of a reunified Germany should be defined in advance. It should in effect be neutral and should be guaranteed by the Great Powers. To do justice to both the B. H. E. and *Die Welt*, it must be pointed out that this demand for greater German independence is actuated by the haunting specter of endlessly continuing German division and the consequent ruthless Bolshevization of East German youth.

BUT THE reaction of B. H. E. and *Die Welt* has not been shared by the general public. Both Dr. Adenauer and Herr von Brentano at once declared that the Russian attitude should be countered by securing closer European cooperation and rearming more quickly in the Western cause. Certainly the federal government showed what was in its mind. Arms legislation was speeded up, it was agreed to take over the 20,000-strong Federal Frontier Police Force in order to help build the new NATO cadres, the first barracks were at once put in order at Andernach, and the first 101 officers and men of the new army were quietly commissioned by Defense Minister Blank in Bonn on November 12.

Individual Germans to whom I have spoken have been oppressed by Geneva. One newspaperman told me that quicker rearmament was now inevitable, but that there was no occasion for rejoicing. Soldiers were a "necessary evil." Thoughts have turned—as letters to the German newspapers show—to the two sick statesmen, Eisenhower and Adenauer. Was the Soviet "get tough" offensive in Geneva due to their absence from the political stage? Germans have noted that, while President Eisenhower's illness in no way



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prevents American government from functioning, Mr. Dulles was strangely unobtrusive at Geneva. They have noted, with far greater awareness, that Adenauer's illness brought a state of semi-paralysis to German administration which is only now beginning to wear off.

Germans are in an unassertive frame of mind at this moment in history. They are not, with the exception of some ex-soldiers, anxious to rearm. They have not entered NATO in company with other free nations but have only been accepted into it with some reservations. They may talk in fits and starts about the need for an independent German initiative, but they have learned the lessons of Moscow and Geneva. At Moscow the Russian leaders promised the speedy return of the prisoners, and named a figure of 9,626. About four thousand of these have still not arrived and there has been a lapse of four weeks since the last transport reached Western Germany. Chancellor Adenauer advanced to Moscow from outside the wing of the State Department for the first time. It has not been a gainful experience. He had to go back on the two promises which he made before he left—that he would insist on progress toward reunification before agreeing to the resumption of diplomatic contact between Bonn and Moscow, and that he would not allow the question of the prisoners to be made into a political issue.

The next stretch in the roadway of German history is already fully in sight. West German rearmament will be pushed ahead; Germany will stay divided, as part of the Russian plan for peaceful coexistence; the consolidation of Eastern Germany into a fully-fledged satellite will continue. All this will, of itself, contribute nothing toward the solution of the German problem and Germans maintain that there can be no lasting peace in Europe until it is solved.

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# FARMERS DEFY G.O.P.

## Bad News for Benson . . *by Charles F. Ransom*

*Des Moines, Iowa*

LAST SUMMER'S drought burned pastures and shriveled corn yields in southwestern Iowa and northwestern Missouri. Ever since 1952, farm prices and farm incomes of prosperous commercial farmers (3,000,000 in the nation) have been falling despite recent full employment and rising wages in the rest of the economy. Add to that the chronic poverty—in good times and bad—of small farmers and those on marginal land (2,000,000 in the nation). Pile on low cattle prices and the lowest hog prices in thirteen years coinciding with the biggest seasonal marketing of livestock—the market which must provide the year's major cash income for corn-belt farmers.

Things were ripe for an explosion.

Jay Loghry of Corning, Iowa, who went about the area selling mineral feed supplements to farmers, felt it. At his invitation, sixteen farmers met with him last September 5 and planned a further meeting eight days later in a livestock-sales barn in Greenfield. It is hard to get farmers out to a meeting, but 500 showed up, representing every one of the sixteen townships of Adair county. Loghry told them how he had lost everything as a farmer in 1932, and proposed that they meet again a week later and choose a county representative for a delegation to go to Washington to call for high support prices for hogs and cattle. (As perishables, pork and beef had not been supported at all under the farm program, and the usual sealed storage methods would not work.) Loghry's idea at the time was for a delegation from all 99 counties of Iowa.

On September 15, Loghry held another meeting in a stock-sales barn in his own town of Corning. In subsequent weeks he held further meetings in Bedford, Clarinda, Creston, and Red Oak—all within thirty-five miles of Corning. The crowds were large and enthusiastic. There were over 600 at Bedford and an astounding 1,200 at Creston (later topped at Maryville, Missouri, with 1,500).

A second meeting at Corning adopted a constitution as a county organization:

> We the farmers of Adams county, in order to get our fair share of the national income, do band together in an organization to be known as the National Farmers Organization. . . . We band together to exercise our right to petition our government . . . for 100 per cent of parity for all farm products in view of the fact that hogs and cattle are now being marketed for less than the cost of the product.
>
> As an emergency measure, we petition the Department of Agriculture to install an immediate floor of $20 per hundredweight for butcher hogs and $30 per hundredweight for good to choice cattle.

During the discussion, the formation of a national organization was projected.

Richard Bruner, young program coordinator from the Des Moines district office of the United Packinghouse Workers of America-C. I. O., showed up at the Corning and Bedford meetings. The farmers asked him to speak. Bruner told them that while the C. I. O. could not organize a farmers' union, it offered warm sympathy. They asked him many practical organization questions.

Many of the farmers were weary of relying on legislation, thoroughly burned up at both political parties, and anxious for direct action: tough, labor-style bargaining with the packers, maybe a farm strike. Loghry suggested that the Packinghouse Workers might even go so far as to refuse to handle livestock not from a "union farm."

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Dan Turner, Republican governor of Iowa back in 1931-33, lives in the area. He spoke at Bedford and other meetings, strongly opposing farm strikes and recalling how unsuccessful they had proved in the 1930's, and how packed with violence. "If farmers want quick action," he told the Bedford gathering, "they should get in touch with their Congressmen. The right to petition is as old as this government."

Nevertheless, at Clarinda the next day Loghry told the 350 farmers who turned out that if they were properly organized, they could refuse to market livestock until the public was willing to pay a fair price. But "no rough stuff," he insisted. Later on he was to say, "A strike is absolutely out."

By this time the problem of organizing the state or the nation was beginning to appear more formidable to these enthusiastic amateurs. They began to collect dollar dues and to pass the hat for an "emergency fund" to finance organization. Loghry had lost his job in September ("My talks were getting the company in trouble"), and money was needed to keep him in the field.

N. F. O. SPEAKERS began going into new counties only on invitation of someone who thought he could get out a crowd. They began moving into new areas: Missouri, western Iowa, the three-state area where South Dakota, Minnesota, and Iowa meet (they did not do so well in Worthington, Minnesota); then to the Northeast.

Other leaders began to emerge: Duane Orton and Ed Chappell, both Iowans, and Nels Kraschel, who had been Democratic governor of Iowa in 1937-39.

A regional meeting was held at Corning in October at which officers were elected, by-laws adopted, and Corning designated as headquarters. The president, Harry Grundman, lives nearby, and Secretary Ed Chappell and Organization Director Jay Loghry are Corning men. The treasurer, Duane Orton, lives thirty-eight miles away at Atlantic; and the vice-president, Oren Lee Staley, sixty-five miles south in Rea, Missouri. Some ninety delegates from sixteen Iowa counties and eight Missouri counties took part.

The organization's leaders were anxious to avoid either party tag,

Des Moines Register

*"Is that smoke we smell?"*

but inevitably Republicans suspected a Democratic plot. The Republican Dan Turner continues to do his best to keep the group nonpartisan, though he talks as loudly as anyone for Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Benson's resignation. Senator Bourke Hickenlooper (Republican, Iowa) flatly charges that the new organization is "led and fostered by Democrats" and counsels against "unsound action" or "foolish promises."

The N. F. O. cherishes the hope that it could become a major national farm organization without treading on the toes of the established ones. So far it has been encroaching chiefly on Farm Bureau territory in Iowa and Missouri, and National Farmers Union territory in the Dakotas.

THE FARM BUREAU, by far the strongest general farm organization in Iowa, is now working hard for the "soil-fertility bank" idea—the leasing of land by the government to take it out of production during surplus years. It has been claiming credit for the small-scale pork-purchase program for school-lunch purposes which Secretary Benson reluctantly started under pressure of his Republican colleagues.

The Iowa Farmers Union, long stymied by a president who denounced United States germ warfare in Korea, was deprived of its national charter in 1954 for lacking the 3,500 members necessary to qualify, and will lose the right to the name if the national office has its way in the federal courts. Meanwhile, it has given moral support to the new southwest Iowa organization, while the National Farmers Union is getting ready to move in to do some fast organizing on its own behalf.

Perhaps the chief effect of the new National Farmers Organization will be to help galvanize the established farm, political, and agricultural organizations into new activity, and perhaps even into thinking of something better than high, rigid supports which have "already failed," as Republicans say. There is a real case for imaginative and constructive farm aid, to ease farmers over the present price squeeze without freezing them into present production patterns which no longer match demand.

Time was when each new period of hard times brought forth a new major farm organization: the Grange in the 1870's, the Farmers' Alliance in the 1880's and early 90's, the Farmers Union before World War I, the Farm Bureau just after it. Each faded rapidly with returning farm prosperity, and two of them survived at all only by changing character and habitat: the hell-raising Midwestern Grangers gave way to the conservative Grangers now strongest in the Northeast and Pacific Northwest; the Farmers Union shifted its heartland from the Gulf Coast to the Plains States, and changed policies many times. Only the Farm Bureau has retained its homeland in the corn and cotton belts and managed to surpass its early maximum membership—and even the Farm Bureau now has doubts about "parity," which it has favored over the years.

Since the 1930's, the Big Three farm organizations have developed professional leaders and staffs with a vested interest in keeping their groups alive and adaptable. The Big Three survived the farm booms of the 1940's and the Korean War, and they show signs of being able to manage the easier job of outliving the present hard times. If they do, the real choice for the new Farmers Organization is whether to become just another regional pressure group or to achieve its purpose—uniting farmers for action in their own behalf—by stimulating the major existing groups into constructive militancy. In the latter case, the N. F. O., once its goal was achieved, could well fade out.



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# THE RUSTED GATE

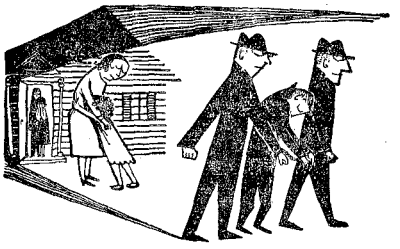
## Politics and Immigration . . . *by J. Campbell Bruce*

FEW ACTS of Congress have been so little understood by the general public—or, for that matter, by most members of Congress—and yet have created so much controversy, as the McCarran-Walter Act, our basic immigration law. Since it went into effect on Christmas Eve of 1952, millions of words have been written and spoken against this "monstrous betrayal," as Oscar Handlin of Harvard characterizes it. Major religious, labor, civic, and other groups have voiced vigorous opposition. It passed over President Truman's veto, and was denounced by President Eisenhower. A President's commission, made up of nonpartisan distinguished Americans, held exhaustive hearings and called for a complete revision.

And yet, until this month, it all seemed sort of like shouting at the village water tank. The first break, after three years of Congressional silence, came November 21 with the start of public hearings by Senator Harley M. Kilgore, chairman of both the Senate Judiciary Committee and its subcommittee on immigration. The West Virginia Democrat announced his inquiry would be "concerned with fundamental national policies expressed in the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 [the McCarren-Walter Act], experience under the Act, and a consideration of several pending Senate bills to amend the Act."

Several questions naturally arise. Coming on the eve of a presidential election year, do the Kilgore hearings presage a hot campaign issue over revision of the act? Do they indicate a possibility the 84th Congress might change it?

That it is already an issue seems clear enough in the very timing and announced scope of the Kilgore sessions, which will hear witnesses representing "bar associations, churches, voluntary agencies, learned societies, and scientific, economic, agricultural, education, labor, women's, and other private and public interest groups." What makes a political motive evident is the fact that a wealth of similar testimony has been available since January 1, 1953, in the 2,000-page transcript of the hear-



ings conducted by the President's commission.

Unmistakable political undertones also marked statements by Senator Kilgore prior to his current inquiry. Last July he informed the Senate of his unsuccessful efforts to ascertain the attitude of the Eisenhower Administration toward the law and explained the need to hear from authorized White House spokesmen because of "the widespread confusion existing over just what the Administration policy is." Again in a September 12 press statement, he said the Eisenhower Administration had "ducked every invitation to testify" because it had failed "to come to grips with this vital issue and formulate a policy." He offered a comparison: "In sharp contrast to the inaction of the Eisenhower Administration was the action by President Truman. President Truman vetoed the immigration bill and shortly thereafter appointed a nonpartisan commission to study basic policies."

By then the Senator had a reply from Secretary of State Dulles which seemed to forecast a struggle for position by the two parties next year. Mr. Dulles intimated the Administration *was* coming to grips with the issue and offered regrets he would not be able to testify "until the present study has been completed and the views of the Administration have been coordinated." And then Mr. Dulles adroitly took the offensive. He thought it was "unfortunate" that the first session of the 84th Congress had failed to adopt the "relatively simple" amendments to the Refugee Relief Act proposed by President Eisenhower, a liberalization that would "clearly and promptly indicate to the peoples of friendly nations the interest of the President and the Congress in this subject." He urged their adoption as quickly as possible.

The Congress was thus accused of inaction, but this did not dismay Senator Kilgore. Ignoring the gentle castigation, he stated that "regardless of action or inaction by the Eisenhower Administration," he was going ahead with his public hearings.

THE hearings, of course, will not be the only factor in making our immigration policy an issue in '56. The McCarran-Walter Act stirred a revolt among powerful national groups representing vast numbers of voters. Naturalized citizens, resentful over their second-class status under this act, must also be wooed. Party policy-makers can deal more freely with the subject now that the McCarthy-inspired hysteria has subsided to the point where one can oppose the act with less risk of being smeared as a Red. And the Geneva spirit generated by President Eisenhower has had its influence. All signs, then, indicate that next year each party will be striving to outdo the other in offering relief from the law. The 85th Congress will hardly have a choice in the matter.

There were promises in 1952, but only from the top candidates. Party leaders entrusted with the platforms, caucusing in an atmosphere of Red terror, apparently found it difficult to muster enough courage even to promise. The Republicans ignored the issue entirely. The Democrats did have a plank, but they shied

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from direct mention of the McCarran-Walter Act and indulged only in inoffensive generalities.

There seems little chance, however, that revision will take place so long as the present Congress is in office. For one thing, the chairman of the House subcommittee on immigration is Francis E. Walter, the Pennsylvania Democrat who shared authorship of the 1952 act. There is no dearth of bills seeking revision: thirty in the House, three in the Senate. Two major Senate bills, which the Kilgore committee may consider, are sponsored on the Republican side by Senators Saltonstall, Ives, and Case; on the Democratic side by Senator Lehman and seven colleagues, including Senator Kefauver. The Democratic bill is by far the more liberal. However, a Congressional observer criticized this bill, and most of the others, as too comprehensive. Some Congressmen, seeing no hope for major carpentry on the law, may concentrate next session on liberalizing the quota system; that is, in making the unused quotas applicable to countries with quotas far below 10,000.

Even if, by some miracle, a major bill should squeeze out of committee despite Mr. Walter's opposition, it would almost certainly be beaten on the floor of the present Congress, where a coalition of Southern Democrats and Midwestern Republicans is ready to deliver the final death blows. Strange bedfellows, these coalitionists? Not at all, Midwest Republicanism has long been the seat of isolationism. And the South, despite a tradition of gracious hospitality, has long clung to an anti-foreigner tradition—much to its own detriment. It is relevant to point out that the South, with the lowest percentage of foreign-born, has the lowest per capita income.

The attitude of the Southern Democrats toward liberalizing our immigration policy seems all the more incomprehensible in view of recent history. Thousands of displaced persons brought here during the Truman Administration settled in the South. Alexander F. Miller, director of the Southern office of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, tells how well they were assimilated:

> Almost uniformly these immigrants—these new Americans—have enriched the South through their industry, their culture, their scientific and technical knowledge, and above all, through their loyalty and devotion to their newly adopted land. Some of these immigrants, because of their special talents, have started unique industries which have provided employment and income for thousands of Southerners.

A clear conception of the McCarran-Walter Act, and thus its need for revision, is made all the more difficult by the mass of confusion, contradictions, and paradoxes the law has engendered. It is paradoxical, for example, that while the executive boards of so many national groups, representing better than half the population, are actively opposed to the law, a Gallup Poll last summer showed that only 5 per cent of the public could identify the McCarran-Walter Act as a piece of immigration legislation. Perhaps one-tenth of 1 per cent of the population is at all familiar with its intricate workings—roughly 160,000 people. Yet one opposing organization alone—the General Federation of Women's Clubs—has a membership of 11,000,000.

IT IS understandable, then, that so many people accepted the claim of Mr. Walter, and the late Senator McCarran, that only Communists and the dupes of Communists oppose the act. Is the claim justified? Is President Eisenhower a dupe of the Communists? Or Archbishop Richard J. Cushing of Boston? Or Walter Reuther of the C. I. O.? Or George Meany of the A. F. of L.? Or Rabbi Alvin I. Fine? They all oppose the act.

The law itself is a welter of contradictions. For example, one section sets aside 50 per cent of each quota to "skilled aliens," such as professors, but they must have the guarantee of a job. But another section bars an alien, skilled or unskilled, who has the promise of a job. And still another bars an alien likely to become a public charge.

But let us consider the particularly evil features of the law that should be amended to make our immigration policy conform to our historic concepts of fair play. One is the National Origins formula, which requires that our annual immigration quotas be based on the composition of our 1920 population as determined by countries of origin. Senator Reed, who tacked this tricky formula onto the 1924 immigration act, made no bones about its discriminatory intent. He told his colleagues: "I think most of us are reconciled to the idea of discrimination." The formula discriminates against the peoples of Eastern and Southern Europe on the spurious theory that they are racially inferior. We should scrap the so-called Asia-Pacific triangle, which is the McCarran-Walter Act's version of an Oriental Exclusion Act. Assigning only token quotas to countries in the vast area from Afghanistan to Japan, this section goes out of its

way to be discriminatory by designating a would-be immigrant as Oriental, whatever his nationality, so long as one parent is Oriental.

Certainly the provision that sets up a second-class citizenry should be repealed. John Marshall, the great Chief Justice, said there should be no distinction between the native-born and the naturalized citizen, yet the McCarran-Walter Act, by subjecting the naturalized citizen to denaturalization and deportation on tenuous grounds rather than grounds of provable fraud, makes such a distinction.

Our consular officers should be stripped of their dictatorial powers. Under the law they can deny a visa without any announced reason, and their action is final. Equally reprehensible, they now have the sole power to accept or reject a claim of citizenship by a person living abroad. At the very least, their decisions should be subject to review.

The statute of limitations, rescinded by the McCarran-Walter Act, should be reinstated, and the *ex post facto* provisions, barred from criminal statutes by the Constitution, should be tossed out. It is unthinkable that men should be deported

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(and they are) for long-forgotten offenses, even though they had fully atoned for their transgressions, and that they can be deported today for something they did forty years ago that was perfectly lawful at the time.

What can you, as a citizen, do about it? You can write to your Congressman and your Senators. I have done some lecturing on the subject, and on several occasions I was approached by a naturalized citizen afterward, who commented with some embarrassment: "I would like to write my Congressman, as you suggest, but—well, a person must be careful about such things." Needless to say, I was shocked. Such fear smacks of a totalitarian state, not a great democracy.

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# REVOLT AGAINST REASON

## Reflection of Despair . . *by Abraham Edel*

IN THE THIRTIES we used to hear of the *retreat from reason;* now there is widespread talk of the *revolt against reason.* The verbal shift measures the growing intensity of the intellectual problem. Local sniping has flared into widespread rebellion, very much like an old-fashioned South American revolution: there is an army in every province, each fighting on its own, and often it is difficult to distinguish attackers from defenders. The rebels all proclaim that the sovereignty of reason is tottering, but they cannot form a new government because they cannot themselves agree on aims and interests.

"Reason," which is so beleaguered, is clearly not just any sort of reflection, nor is it even the use of scientific method in the physical sciences. It is that broad pattern of beliefs, attitudes, and assurances in the picture of the world, man, and society, which commonly goes by the name of the scientific outlook—a not wholly standardized but yet more or less recognizable product of Western culture in the last few centuries. But perhaps its configuration may be gathered, at least in part, from the varied goals upon which the rebels sight their guns.

In the province of history, the belief in a rational order of indefinite progress is already being surrendered. Its liberal supporters have been dejected by the extent of twentieth-century inroads upon liberalism. Its Socialist theoreticians have been branded as metaphysical advocates of inevitability in human affairs. The faith in the possibility of any large-scale rational planning in human affairs is the citadel now besieged. Some attackers marshall economic arguments to prove it mathematically impossible; others content themselves with pressing the threat of totalitarianism as an unavoidable outcome.

IN political and social theory fire centers on the traditional democratic view of all men as reasonable beings worthy of a share in determining social policy. The degradation of which twentieth-century man has shown himself capable—and the smell of the Nazi gas ovens hovers over the criticism—is offered as decisive evidence. The defender of man's reasonableness is dismissed as an eighteenth-century relic. He is told to catch up on Freud, the irrationality of the human spirit, the deep dark forces of hostility and aggression. If he insists that men's irrationality today may reflect the conflicts of institutional frameworks and social transformations, he will be told that it is out of date to think in terms of socio-economic causes, and sent to read Dostoevski's "Letters from the Underworld" and Orwell's "1984." Meanwhile, the junta forming the new intellectual government of this province is presided over by the spirit of Edmund Burke.

In philosophy the battle has been waged over the rationality of value judgments. Liberalism assumed widening rational agreement on a humane outlook; one attacking column undercuts this position with the slogan that reason gives us only means, not ends or ultimate values. Another brings up reinforcements with a theory that judgments of ends simply express emotion and arbitrary preference; there is no rational way of validating even the choice of a humane as against a racialist ethics. A third column moves up to the front under the banner of ultimate individual responsibility, proclaiming in its existentialist fervor that no law of God or reason, no knowledge of fact or science of man can diminish the unique creative responsible act of the lone individual in the moment of decision. A fourth column—and here the crossfire among the attackers becomes heavy—has insisted that since human values have to be objective and the scientific combination of reflection and experience has failed to provide such objectivity, rational justification must give way to religious validation. What is more, even some who speak in the name of reason direct their fire against the use of empirical science in building a knowledge of man, and call upon a metaphysical reason to replace a scientific reason.

Theology has witnessed the revolt against reason within its own domains. Instead of traditional arguments about the existence of God or evidences of spirit permeating the natural and historical order, there is considerable attempt today to ground religion on man's desperate need. In the ascendant are conceptions of an utterly transcendent divinity beyond the reach of men's rational knowledge, condemnations of man's arrogance if he attempts to determine his path in reliance on

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his own rational powers, and repeated emphasis on the intensity of man's aloneness. In brief, Kierkegaard's "fear and trembling" bids fair to triumph over Hegel's optimistic view of the world as a rational spiritual unfolding.

The very sciences are not exempt from the forward surge of the anti-rationalist front. Psychological warfare is waged on every sign of an internal problem. Every shift in an older conception, whether the abandonment of the old billiard-ball atom, or the use of statistical conceptions of law rather than a strict determination, or any indecision between particle and wave conceptions of ultimate energy units is seized upon as a confession of the basic bankruptcy in scientific reason. (A student of quantum mechanics once told me with respect to the indeterminacy principle, which states the theoretical impossibility of specifying both the position and momentum of a particle at any time, that he found it "philosophically intolerable" if only half of the world could be known at any one time!)

WHAT are we to make of this concerted attack upon reason on the contemporary scene? Is it a mood of despair occasioned by unusual historical events? Is it really a discovery after centuries of overconfidence, that man's powers of understanding and control are severely limited and precarious? Of is it just an up-to-date model of the traditional obscurantism that reaction tends to foster in any large-scale social upheaval? Or again, may it not be merely a kind of intellectual smog issuing on the popular scene from insufficiently consumed and not well-regulated intellectual production itself? An interesting attempt to raise the general question has recently been made in a special number of an English periodical, including papers by scholars in a variety of fields.* They agree generally that there is a changing mood in the social and political arena—a shift to conservatism and loss of interest in some of the older issues of reform, a turning to religion—but doubt whether it adds up to more than faltering confusion. Explanations touched on range over a wide field—weariness with old problems, reaction to the contemporary outcome of the Marxian dream, actual extent of social gains which make some of the older struggles obsolete, disappointment with the achievements of the Labor government, the plight of the intellectual between Big Business and Big Labor, the cataclysm of two world wars, and so on. Some think the extent of the swing in mood has been exaggerated, and the general opinion is that there are no valid grounds to despair of reason. No unified picture emerges, however, of the nature of the alleged revolt. And it is discussed as a European phenomenon, not a global one.

IT WOULD be tempting to explore the American counterpart of the picture, but it is more important to formulate it as a contemporary human problem, a basic issue in philosophical perspective. For in the long run it concerns not only European and American intellectuals, but also Indian and Chinese peasants and South African mineworkers. The unifying strand would seem to be a belief in the *failure of human knowledge, understanding, and control to help man achieve a tolerable home and worthwhile life on the face of the globe.* The specifically contemporary note—for such an attitude has occurred in the past, for example in what Gilbert Murray so aptly termed "the failure of nerve" in the ancient world—would be found in the scope of the mistrust coming after the extent of the promise of science, and in the feeling that *everything is ultimately more unknowable in the context of increasing danger.*

The mere spread of a mood is not, of course, sufficient ground for accepting its implicit doctrines, nor even evidence of a lasting basis for the mood itself. For it may be the ephemeral expression of temporary crisis conditions. Thus the mistrust of science during the Great Depression, with its demand for a moratorium on invention, transparently expressed prevalent fears of technological unemployment. Now too, large components of the present irrationalism may reflect large-scale disappointment and despair. The historian may well ask whether this intellectual climate would have been different if the Roosevelt international program had succeeded, or how much will vanish if a more pacific coexistence now replaces the cold war. Similarly, how much of the mood reflects unresolved technological problems—for example, will the Malthusian components of current irrationalism survive an effective harnessing of solar energy, or the tilling of ocean and desert for food supply?

There are also strong ideological elements in the irrationalist camp. When Mussolini in the early twenties told a Fascist convention that fascism offered no program because programs are static and reality is active and dynamic, the philosophical challenge could scarcely be regarded as authentic. The historical record showed that the divergent elements in the party had simply failed to reach an agreement on program. Professor Bronowski in his essay on The Logic of Nature similarly summarizes the character of the present counter-attack on science: "Science has admitted that the electron is not a billiard ball, and we must therefore return naked to a belief in papal infallibility, astrology, and the unfitness of the lower orders." Comparable comment could be made on the irrationalist use of Freud's speculations on inherent aggressiveness to justify a skeptical attitude to social reform, or again on the patchwork of theory that often finds it way into exposition of conservatism now popular in economics and politics.

ON THE other hand, strong legitimate interests may have been forced into the irrationalist camp because dominant interpretations of reason have ignored them. Their place in the current attack therefore constitutes no permanent threat, rather a stimulus to awakening. Some such role may be characteristic of existentialism today. Anti-rationalist and obscurantist it may indeed be. But when it attacks the way in which the individual has been reduced to a cog in a machine, or conceived of simply as a multiplicity of functions with a hollow center, helplessly irresponsible, there is a reasonableness in its criticism. But these are criticisms of shortcomings in prevailing policies and theories, not legitimate grounds for a revolt against reason.

*The Political Quarterly, July-September 1955, volume XXVI, no. 3: Special Number—The Revolt Against Reason. It includes articles by Noel Annan, Leonard Woolf, H. R. G. Greaves, W. Pickles, Richard Wollheim, J. Bronowski, Donald MacRae, Dorothy Emmet, Ronald Bryden. Most fields of knowledge—psychology is a notable exception—are discussed.



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The fact is that much of what is sound in the attacks on reason today has already been absorbed by many of the outlooks and fields under attack. A self-critical liberalism, for example, often recognizes that its older forms constituted a middle-class liberalism, that it aimed to extend benefits gradually and was not attuned to a rapid mass upsurge over the globe. This means a crisis in the specific liberal theory, not a crisis in the outlook of humane rationality or the trust in reason. Similarly, a self-critical philosophy of science, faced with the tumult about indeterminacy in physical theory, has itself recognized that the particular mechanical deterministic form in which the idea of a rational order had previously been cast needed reconsideration. The necessary reconstruction may not yet be wholly shaped, but its direction is to incorporate the procedures which made possible the new advances in physical theory, which thereby brought *greater* knowledge and tremendously *increased* control of natural processes. In short, reconstruction of theoretical ideas is the mark of a creative period and issues from the successful advances of rational scientific inquiry. It is paradox to use the advances themselves as evidence for the bankruptcy of rationality.

If the concept of a rational order is broadened, if sound criticisms of hypotheses that have hardened into rationalist dogma are incorporated, if ideological and obscurantist elements are set aside, if the expression of special crisis conditions is carefully discounted, and if the very arguments hurled against reason are seen to come from the armory of reason itself—is there then any basis left for philosophical challenge of reason? There are of course the specific theses challenging the outlook that had become consolidated in history and political theory, and these require careful analysis and reexamination. But these alone may call for at most a tempered realism and a sober view. To reject metaphysical inevitability in human history is not to deny that there are major forces operative on the human scene limiting the alternative paths on which we may move; it is as important to study these dispassionately as it is to realize the scope of human choice. For example, Professor Bronowski may very well be right in

pointing out that while historians are still estimating the changes produced by the first scientific revolution of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, "the second scientific revolution is already long on the move, and is making over both our lives and our thoughts as powerfully as did the first." If so, then rational inquiry is needed to show what is already settled and what is still open in the form of alternative paths along which self-consciousness may make choice possible. Clearly, industrialism is here to stay and medieval ruralism is on the way out, but the form of industrial society admits of many more shapes than the sprawling city that has been regarded as inevitable; the control consequences of automation and its social effects may be unforseeable, but the transition need not repeat the misery of the first industrial revolution. Rationality lies in the method of study and in the conscious or planned application of controls that are possible, not in the all-or-none decision between total planning and total let-anything-happen.

AGAIN, a sober faith in men's abilities to determine social policies is not incompatible with recognition of the depths to which they may sink under special conditions, nor with reasoned and seasoned efforts to avoid the recurrence of such conditions. In fact, what but rational inquiry can constantly refine the methods of coping with irrational behavior? Attention to mental health on a larger scale is as obvious a consequence of depth psychology as any of the speculations about the depth of the depths. Interestingly enough, in spite of the role that some theological doctrines assign to the irrationality of man, practical religious work wisely hastens to apply what knowledge rational inquiry furnishes—for example, in the development of the field of pastoral psychology.

On the philosophical thesis—that values can be based only on arbitrary preference, that morality cannot constitute a stable "knowledge" to provide guidance in human relations—the picture looks less desperate when we examine it closely and from within. After the first careless rapture of glorying in arbitrariness, careful philosophical attention to the procedures men use in justifying their choices forces us to recognize that the notion that there are good reasons for doing one thing rather than another is not an empty one. Once more, reason thrust out of the front door returns through the service entrance. At the very least, the mere convergence of most men's arbitrary preference on a particular basic value—human survival—comes to provide a fundamental common goal, achieving the conditions which will make survival possible.

On one count, however, what is left of the revolt against reason does seem to score heavily—the reasoned judgment of increasing danger and precariousness in men's total life context. It is almost a commonplace that major decisions nowadays have global rather than limited effects, and this is likely to become more so. On the scientific side this is clearest. Suppose the study of genetics had not developed in the past half century—and given the unsystematic way in which ground was broken in many fields this is far from inconceivable. We might now be in the position in which the genetic effects of the wider use of atomic energy could not even have been raised as a question. In many ways man may unwittingly be the source of his own deterioration and even destruction. But such a situation involves fear of dangers—real dangers that rational inquiry can map with realism, and against which it may move with concerted caution. The outcome here too is not a revolt against reason but a need for a maximum of self-conscious rationality. In the evolution of man, such self-consciousness can no longer be a byproduct. If it was premature in the ancient view to define man as a rational animal, it is no longer premature to think of him as an animal that will have to be much more rational if he is to survive.



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# BOOKS

## Tall Tales of the Cold War

*THE FIFTEEN WEEKS.* (February 21-June 5, 1947). By Joseph M. Jones. The Viking Press. $3.75.

**By Frederick L. Schuman**

"HEAVY Russian Columns Move East in Iran; Turkey or Iraq May Be Goal." So ran an eight-column scare headline in the New York *Times* of March 13, 1946, based on a State Department release. March 14: "Soviet Tanks Approach Teheran." March 16: "Russians Press On." On the same day Frederick Kuh reported in *PM:* "British authorities have admitted that there is no evidence whatever indicating that Red Army forces have moved beyond the Soviet area in Iran." On March 23 Premier Ghavam officially stated that no new Soviet troops had entered Iran and that some already there had been withdrawn.

Joseph M. Jones, publicist, erstwhile associate editor of *Fortune,* and State Department official during a hectic period, quotes the first headline as factual on page forty-nine of his curiously ambivalent and important book, with no comment save: "The situation was extremely dangerous." The passage is typical. How misinformed were our policy-makers? What were actual Soviet intentions in major crises as distinct from official Washington evaluations? To what degree were Truman, Byrnes, Acheson, Harriman, and Forrestal, as well as Stalin and Company, responsible for the tensions and tumults of a dangerous decade?

This dramatic blow-by-blow account of American policy from February 21 to June 5, 1947, offers no direct answers to such questions. The author had a hand in drafting the Truman Doctrine of March 12, Acheson's Cleveland, Mississippi, speech of May 8, and the Marshall Plan address at Harvard on June 5. His premises are the usual ones among America's more ardent cold warriors. His broader conclusions are therefore questionable. Moscow was bent on "world conquest." Britain "handed the job of world leadership to the United States." "The world stage was set for an inevitable war between two titans, the Soviet Union, astride Europe and Asia, and America standing alone." "Stalin himself formally launched the cold war (February 9, 1946) on capitalist countries." Russian efforts to secure

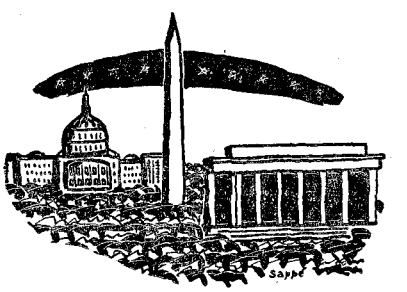
oil concessions in Iran comparable to those already held by Britain and America were proof of ineffable wickedness. Turkey was threatened. "Greece, France, and Italy were in imminent danger of being taken over." Byrnes "bore the brunt of the cold-war assault of the Russians." "The Truman Doctrine instantly dealt a stunning blow to communism in Western Europe," etc,

The record, when fully known, will not, I believe, support such judgments. Walter Lippmann, Henry Wallace, and others said so then. On March 6 George F. Kennan, we here learn for the first time, strongly opposed any aid to Turkey and bitterly objected to the ideological slant of Truman's intended message. But "it was too late. The decision had already been taken." Even Jones later warned Acheson that we must "have something positive and attractive to offer, and not just anti-communism." A major difficulty was that "in 1947 there were many who failed to see that the Soviet Union was aggressive and expansionist." What better way to convince them than to pursue policies designed to frighten the Kremlin into aggressive reactions?

Jones's central argument, however, is that the emergencies of 1947 challenged the United States to assume its full global responsibilities, that the fifteen weeks marked a constructive revolution in national thinking, and that "American democracy worked with unexampled efficiency and inspiration to produce national agreement." In one of the most detailed and informative accounts ever written of how foreign policy is actually made, he reveals much of "inside Washington" and deserves warm thanks from citizens and scholars alike.

Much of what was done in 1947 and thereafter, particularly the European Recovery Program, had to be done if the European democracies were to be saved from economic collapse. The manner of the doing, i.e., bypassing the United Nations and depicting the enterprise as a crusade against Red sin, was deplorable and hazardous. Even this may have been a political necessity, since Congress, press, and public in such matters tended either to go to sleep or to go berserk. A larger measure of maturity and prudence among legislators and pressmen is now evident.

These virtues were abundant a decade ago among our diplomats. But since the Dulles dispensation. . .? Jones, naming no names but speaking from experience, somberly observes: "Foreign policy becomes paralyzed when the State Department officer must make each comment or decision with the Congressional investigator looking over his shoulder, with the security gumshoe listening at the door or on his wire, with the dissatisfied secretaries spying on him, with every opinion and idea stripped and searched by immature minds for evidence of 'disloyalty'. . . . The massacre that has been committed in recent years on the personnel, morale, and intellectual vigor of the Department of State is one of the greatest crimes of this generation and cannot fail to have dire consequences for the security and well-being of this country."



*FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN, Woodrow Wilson Professor of Government at Williams College and author of "Germany Since 1918," "The Nazi Dictatorship," "Europe on the Eve," and "Night Over Europe," is a frequent contributor to* The Nation.



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# Who Is Martha?

*A CHARMED LIFE.* By Mary McCarthy. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $3.95.

**By Josephine Herbst**

TOO MUCH of contemporary writing seems to be driving away from the center of things. If neither nuclear reactions nor the refining of oil can provide a stimulus for the artist, neither may the smoothest running novel satisfy by virtue of a perfected technique. You can't quarrel with Mary McCarthy's prose; it is extremely able. You can't complain that your attention isn't caught at once. But where Sherwood Anderson or Dreiser often fumbled painfully to reveal what was truly felt, this author in "A Charmed Life" seems most adept at concealment. Some code supplants the real thing; condescension is inherent in the prose itself.

Martha Sinnott, equipped with beauty and an agile mind, is married to John, whose genteel exterior, with a few minor traits thrown in, is all we shall ever know about him. The couple are in the crucial seventh year of their marriage and have inexplicably returned to New Leeds where Martha once lived as the wife of the outrageous Miles Murphy, still flourishing in the same place, remarried, and with a child. New Leeds is an arty village, given to too many accidents, too many alcoholics; people once in the news and now in limbo. Something happened once to all of them, and they appear to survive on stale recollections of past glories or lost hope. It is not even a doomed setup, merely the aftermath of something broken down. To this spot Martha and John come to find the "something more" their life needs. Martha desires a child; John pins his hopes on a play Martha is said to be writing.

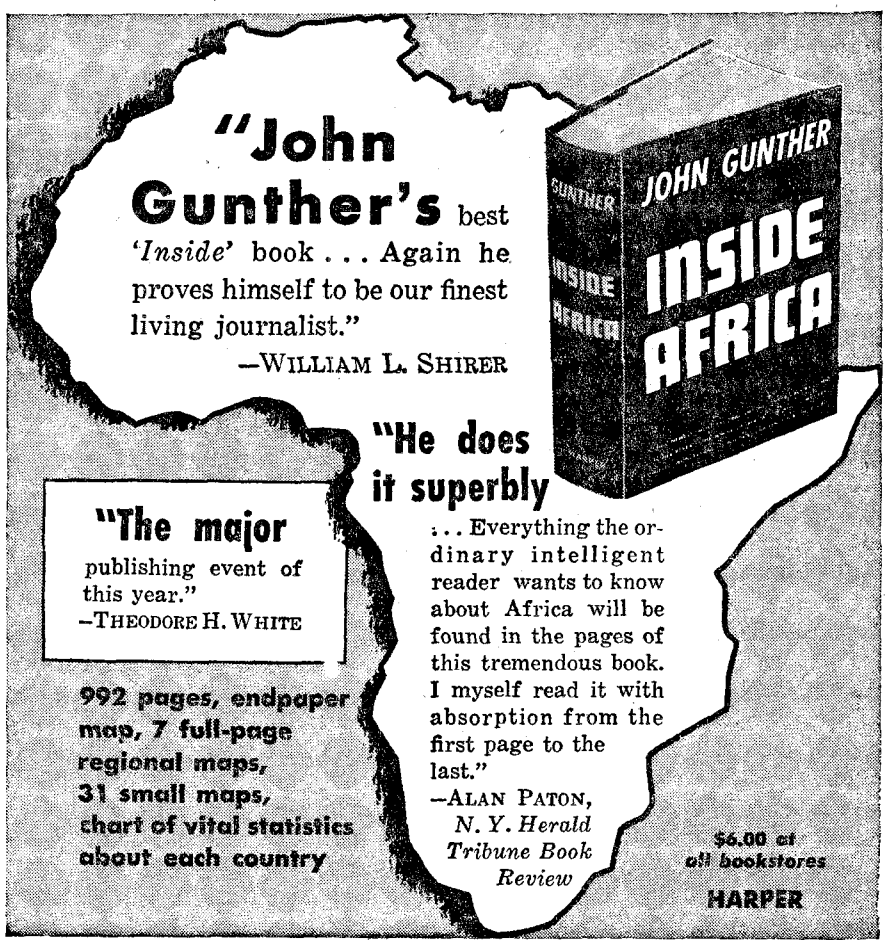
It is hard to believe in Martha as a writer. For all the evidence she might as well be knitting. She has the brains and the sharp pencils but you never *feel* her as writer, anymore than you feel that she loves her husband even when she proclaims she does. Though she insists that she was devoted to poor Barrett, son of Miles by an earlier marriage, it doesn't mean a thing. If she was always a rebel, as her friend Dolly Lamb reminds her, where was it made manifest? You can't take Martha's persistence in wearing stockings in a village given over to barelegs as a sign of any nonconformity worth mentioning. In this village the bottle is the temptation, as it is doubtless bound to be where the inhabitants all seem nicely heeled with invisible incomes or easily won gratuities. Those not so fortunate make their appearance as riffraff. Martha of course wishes to rise above this, longs to live for something "worthwhile." Genuine as the impulse may be, it is strictly verbal.

What is convincing is the malign attraction which draws her to Miles Murphy and for which she hates herself. Being a supreme egotist, dominated by her demand to be a paragon of all the virtues or nothing, it is natural that in her analysis of herself in relation to Miles she identifies her predicament with immortal precedents; in this case, with characters out of Racine. Unfortunately, the reader cannot share Martha's conviction that the souls involved here are "as in an arena, full of sinuous savage beasts leaping at the whip." When Miles and Martha finally meet on the characteristically hard horsehair sofa in her house it is an affair between two magnetized powerhouses, not love, certainly not passion. Nor would this have much relevance except that shortly thereafter Martha finds herself pregnant.

BEING Martha, she must be sole captain of her fate and wreck the ship. Except that no stern situation actually impales her, one might believe it. But this is no Madam Bovary inexorably facing up to outrageous destiny. There are many outs for Martha, but the author contrives to let her have not a single one of them.

Though Martha tempts the reader to accept her own notion of the

*JOSEPHINE HERBST is the author of "Rope of Gold," "Somewhere the Tempest Fell," and other novels. She has also written "New Green World. John Bartram and the Early Naturalists."*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superior thing, it never quite comes off. One cannot quarrel with her, as she is represented, but only wish that she had not been confined so closely within her shell, guarded by the author rather than illuminated, without any arc of comprehension or criticism above or beyond by which we might truly see her. Actually, when you wipe off the literary chat, the clever discussion, and the occasional insight, what you get is simply a young woman whose major plight seems to be that she cannot love. The test of a nature that can love is not the lover but in intimations and delicate traces leading everywhere. Such evidence does not exist in Martha. This is terrible enough but it has nothing to do with sinuous beasts. This is a starfish ego, existing for its own sake, and it would be better if we got it straight. That she ends as she does, by a contrived coincidence, allows her to bypass genuine experience, leaving Martha, and the reader, nowhere.

# Books in Brief

### Out from Under

*THE THAW.* A Novel by Ilya Ehrenburg. With a Special Supplement "The Death of Art," by Russell Kirk. Regnery. $3.50.

Ehrenburg's latest novel has perhaps more importance as a document in the history of postwar Soviet literary controls than as an artistic performance. For when it first appeared in the Soviet periodical *Znamia* in the spring of 1954, it was violently attacked in the official reviews because of its unfaithfulness to Soviet life and the absence of any devotion to party spirit among its characters. Apparently Ehrenburg had elected to strike a blow at "Zhdanovism" in literature, the current name for dull postwar agricultural and industrial novels and plays with hopelessly stereotyped plots and positive heroes and heroines, who achieve stupendous successes because they always follow party guidance. This approach had been thrust upon writers by the party decree on literature in 1946 as interpreted in a subsequent speech by the late Andrei Zhdanov.

"The Thaw" concerns a rather nondescript group in a Volga town. There are no positive heroes or heroines among them, no startling achievements in overfulfilling work norms or rehabilitating a war-wrecked collective farm, and there is no helpful party secretary at the end to resolve crucial problems by virtue of his superior wisdom. Instead we have a series of sketches of the various characters and their relations with one another. Their lives are ordinary, even drab, and for the most part they seem unhappy. Three of them are artists who provide Ehrenburg with an opportunity to satirize what he obviously believes is wrong with the lot of the writer, dramatist, and painter in the Soviet Union.

Mr. Russell Kirk provides a supplement to the novel, in which, with unequal success, he attempts to tell why art has died in the Soviet Union. The burial will seem to some a bit premature, and Ehrenburg's own satire on the failure of Soviet art is more effective.

### A Matter of Manner

*HERITAGE.* By Anthony West. Random House. $3.75.

The fine screen of Anthony West's sensibility is perhaps the most impressive quality of his new novel. Writing of illegitimacy, bohemianism, and seduction, West's control of emotion and clarity of statement render a potentially lurid situation into a conversation piece: mannered, exact, and rapier-quick.

Like the work of all stylists, "Heritage" must appear thin in paraphrase. The book, narrated by the bastard son of a famous actress and a celebrated writer, is a drama of discovery, and in this respect is reminiscent of Henry James. No one in the book *does* very much at all, and crises, when they occur, are usually part of the process of discovering the truth of relationships which already exist. Also like James, West is fascinated by the opposition of brilliant minds. Events are seen as situations perpetually recreated according to the minds filtering meaning.

The result is subtle and accurate prose, often sheathing the most poignant moments or acid commentary in quiet, civilized language. It is, furthermore, a prose with surprising versatility; West is able to evoke adolescent sensuality, adult love, even geographic setting and locale without straining for effects. His novel, despite a lack of surface intensity, recreates a spectrum of emotion. All colors are there if the reader will look closely enough; the canvas, however, is small and not physically imposing.

### Origins of Antitrust

*THE FEDERAL ANTITRUST POLICY.* Origination of an American Tradition. By Hans B. Thorelli. Johns Hopkins. $8.

This treatise by the Swedish scholar Hans B. Thorelli is the definitive study of the origin and early development of federal anti-trust law and policy in the United States. The author traces in great detail the genesis of the Sherman Act from its common-law antecedents, and brings in the late nineteenth-century background of industrial development, social and political conflict, constitutional theory, and social and economic ideology. Even more valuable is the full summary and analysis of the administration and judicial interpretation of the act from 1890 to 1903, much of which is based on material uncovered by the author.

Thorelli performs a useful service in demonstrating that primary responsibility for early non-enforcement of the Sherman Act should be attributed to the attitudes and policies of the Administrations of Harrison, Cleveland, and McKinley, rather than to unfavorable court decisions. The author also shows that, while the law and general direction of anti-trust policy had been established by 1900, anti-trust procedure was fully institutionalized only with the emergence of executive leadership in this area during the Administration of Theodore Roosevelt.

Some of Thorelli's interpretations may be questioned (e.g., his attempt to show that Congress intended to maintain competition when it passed the Sherman Act, a conclusion resting excessively on Congressional debates rather than actions and affiliations), but he has written the outstanding work thus far published on the origin and early years of the federal anti-trust laws.



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# Theater and Films

**Robert Hatch**

ONE OF THE most widespread and least agreeable of human traits is the urge to gaze on anguish. Therefore accidents draw crowds and "A Hatful of Rain" (Lyceum Theatre) can scarcely fail to be a hit. Those attending it will witness terror and violence, creeping horror and pain so intense that it blots out the mind. They will also see compassion and courage, stupidity and cruelty, but they will not see a play.

A play is a matter of conflict, but "A Hatful of Rain" is a matter of diagnosis. The hero is a drug addict, helplessly caught, beyond the appeals of his associates, compelled to make any sacrifice for his hunger, so disabled that he no longer qualifies as sane. He therefore presents an extreme medical problem, but no dramatic problem at all. The action can continue only until someone takes the obvious step of calling for professional help and his wife does this as soon as she discovers what is wrong. The fact that it takes her three acts to make the discovery does not constitute a plot; it is only an arbitrary—and in the circumstances a not very plausible—decision on the part of the playwright.

Curiously enough, the work contains allusions that could be made into a play if the author had wanted to develop them. The Pope household consists of Johnny, the addict; his wife, Celia; and his brother, Polo, who earns good money as a night-club bouncer and pays for Johnny's dope. John Pope, Sr., a shallow and selfish man who demands affection from the sons he has always ignored, is visiting at the time. Polo is jealous of his brother, in love with his sister-in-law. Is he perhaps trying to murder his brother under the guise of protecting his secret? This at least is subject-matter for a melodrama. But in that case the conflict is between the brother and the wife, there must be a showdown between them and Johnny is the object of their struggle. The action does not develop so. Similarly, the pseudo-paternalism of Pope, Sr., the sterile upbringing of the boys in public institutions are grounds for a play with a socio-psychological background and the father as villain. But Johnny is an addict, less because of an unloved childhood, than because irresponsible army hospital nurses dosed him too heavily with sedatives. The villain is neither Polo nor the father; dope is the villain and you might as well cast coronary thrombosis in the role.

But if Michael Gazzo has not written a play in his first produced work, he has written some very shrewd theater. His scenes are full of dreadful action, circumstantial homeliness, and knowing argot; they are couched in a halting, repetitious, gratingly banal style of conversation that Arthur Miller and Tennessee Williams have taught us is the authentic speech of the people. Gazzo's boss dope peddler is a fastidious sadist who wears dark glasses and giggles (a very fashionable type); his heroine is pregnant; he has written a virtuoso drunk scene for the brother; he stages an almost-seduction that shimmers with incest; he sets down the paroxysms of dope deprivation with clinical detail (and for all I know, perfect accuracy). Small wonder that the audience emerges from the theater looking as spent as voyeurs at a street disaster.

The leads in "A Hatful of Rain" are taken by Shelley Winters and Ben Gazzara. She plays with the admirable directness, the open and strong emotion that have made her one of Hollywood's really fine actresses. The play will do her no harm at all.

But I am less sure that it will not harm Gazzara. It is written too directly to the specifications of his reputation, gives him too much chance to exploit himself—the cold voice, the impotent hysteria, the frenzied athleticism. For Gazzara, "A Hatful of Rain" is an emotional sequel to "Cat on a Hot Tin Roof." He is an actor of power, but little experience, and is in danger of freezing into a type. What he needs is to play a few seasons in a first-rate repertory company. But where would he find one?

Frank Silvera and Anthony Franciosa, as the father and the brother, both create strongly modelled, thor-


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oughly worked out personalities that look capable at any moment of stepping into the thick of the drama that never develops. Frank Corsaro directs the production as though with a whip. He makes every shock hit you between the eyes.

ALTHOUGH it is a work of much finer grain, "Umberto D," the Vittorio de Sica film that has been four years reaching us, is related to "A Hatful of Rain." Again the villain is one that cannot be fought—in this case, however, it is old age, which is a less special affliction than narcotics.

The admirers of "Umberto D" keep boasting that it is terribly depressing, as though that were a virtue. I admire the picture for its many virtues, but the fact that it reduces me to a state of deep, if passing, depression does not seem to me one of them. The art of tragedy is to uplift the heart, but "Umberto D" is not really a tragedy. It is the spectacle of a brave, resourceful, cranky, impudent, and proud old man struggling helplessly and alone against the flood of his own years. He cannot swim up the stream, but he fights for every inch he loses. It is a heartbreaking diary of futile gallantry and de Sica, assisted by an old man named Carlo Battisti who is a professor of philosophy and has never acted before, display it with an understanding, a quiet humor, and a lack of sentimentality that are awe-inspiring. Until the very end—at the end it becomes sentimental and that, I believe, is because there is no valid way of ending a sad chronicle that has no tragic structure. The old man cannot be vanquished, but neither can he prevail—he just goes on down the stream. And that is indeed very depressing for us all.

Nevertheless, the picture is a personal triumph for the two men principally concerned and for those who assist them in lesser roles. They never make an irrelevant move, never strike a false note (until the end). Again and again, the picture chooses the supremely communicative detail, the piece of action that with perfect naturalness shows one more facet of the old man's soul. De Sica is said to be a neo-realist. I don't know that that means much, except to suggest that he is an artist in his medium. He is certainly that.


"A BRILLIANT COMEDY."—Atkinson N. Y. Times

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# Records

**B. H. Haggin**

LONDON XLLA-34 offers a performance of "Don Giovanni" with Siepi, Corena, Dermota, Suzanne Danco, della Casa, Gueden, and the chorus and orchestra of the Vienna State Opera conducted by Krips. A major weakness of the performance is the unsuitability of the lightness, smallness, and crystalline quality of Danco's voice to the part of Donna Anna whose expressive requirements can be fulfilled only with a voice and style of greater amplitude; a small blemish is the unattractive timbre of Gueden's voice at her first entrance. Otherwise the well-paced performance offers excellent singing in a context of fine playing by the orchestra which the recording allows to be heard clearly. And since the superb old Glyndebourne Festival performance is reproduced by Victor with occasional distortion that makes the end of side 1 impossible to listen to, it is good to have this new London performance that can take its place. I must mention however that it has the usual London recorded sound—which is to say that when I reproduced the recording through a Bozak speaker which falls off beyond 10,000 cycles, or through an R. C. A. LC-1A speaker with which I used a 10,000-cycle cut-off, or with a G. E. cartridge with similar limited range, the sound was clean, sweet, and lustrous; but when I reproduced it without any such limitation of range—with a Fairchild 220 cartridge and the LC-1A wide open—the sound was rough, lusterless, and sharp.

So with the sound of "The Magic Flute" on London XLLA-33, with Gueden, Wilma Lipp, Simoneau, Berry, Kurt Boehme, and the same chorus and orchestra conducted by Karl Boehm. Here it is Boehme who hasn't the weight of voice that Sarastro's part calls for; otherwise the music is sung beautifully with playing by the orchestra that is again fine. As for other available versions, in the prewar performance in which Beecham conducted the Berlin Philharmonic and a cast that included Lemnitz, Berger, and Roswaenge one hears a forceful shaping of the orchestral part around the singing, and a sharpness of phrase-contour, that one does not hear either in the new London performance or in the beautifully sung Vienna State Opera performance conducted by von Karajan that Columbia issued a few years ago; and the Beecham performance is reproduced by the Victor dubbing with sufficient clarity and brightness and only slight distortion that can be eliminated by a 10,000-cycle cut-off. My own choice would still be the Beecham performance; of the two Vienna State Opera performances I would choose London's new one.

AND finally London XLLA-35 offers a performance of one of the supreme wonders achieved by human powers, "The Marriage of Figaro," with Siepi, Gueden, della Casa, Danco, Poell, and the same chorus and orchestra conducted this



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time by Kleiber. Poell's voice has lost the rich sonority it used to have, and he chews the Italian words in a strange way; otherwise, though one questions the suitability of Danco's voice for the part of Cherubino, which is usually sung by a mezzo-soprano or at the very least by a soprano with greater weight of voice, the performance offers beautiful singing with the fine playing of the orchestra (the usual London recorded sound again). Kleiber's pacing gives it the right lightness and suavity, but is at times more leisurely, and less effective, than what we are accustomed to. I have in mind parts of the finales of Acts 2 and 4—above all the *Susanna, son morta* trio of Act 2, in which the chattered mock severity of Susanna's and the Countess's *Le vostre follie non mertan pieta* is much more effective in the usual faster tempo than in Kleiber's almost sluggish one. The Vienna State Opera performance issued by Columbia a few years ago not only has a cast of more brilliant singers (Kunz, Schwarzkopf, Jurinac, London) but is paced with more animation and brilliance by von Karajan. It has in fact been criticized as *too* fast—and this by writers who have praised the old Glyndebourne Festival performance conducted by Busch; when actually von Karajan's tempos are very much like Busch's—a hairsbreadth faster in the *Susanna, son morta* trio of Act 2, a little slower in the *Pace, pace* duet of Act 4. As against the more brilliant Columbia performance the London offers completeness: it connects the arias and ensembles with the recitative the Columbia performance omits, which gives the work dramatic continuity; and it includes also the unimportant arias of Marcellina and Basilio in the fourth act that one never hears even in the opera house. Choice is difficult; but I think I would choose Columbia's more brilliant performance.

MY RECENT reference to "the kind of recording that I think places the ear too close to the various instruments" brought a letter from a reader who thinks it is time to call a halt to this "realism" and insist on the greater importance of proportion and perspective in recorded performances. "Why," he asks, "should I want to hear the woodwinds at a distance of three feet, when I would never hear them that way in the concert hall?" Citing the example of a bassoon countermelody that outweighed the melody played by violas and cellos, he points out that "in the concert hall the bassoon could never be 'placed' *in front of* the strings, which is the way it sounds to me on the record." And "the worse examples thoroughly atomize, or fragment, the music (it is like looking at a ballet performance through opera glasses), thereby misrepresenting the composer's intention and also vulgarizing the conductor's intention. It is a sort of Cinerama with records." I listened recently to the Westminster recording of Haydn's "Military" Symphony, which I believe started Westminster and other companies on the falsification they call "realism." When the recording first appeared I wrote that the percussion in the second movement was too loud; when I listened it sounded to me as though a special microphone had been placed in front of the percussion; and by now some recordings sound as though a microphone had been placed in front of every instrument.

# Art

**A. L. Chanin**

THE LARGEST exhibition ever assembled in this county of the work of Toulouse-Lautrec is on view at the Philadelphia Museum of Art (to December 11; thereafter, the Art Institute of Chicago, January 2 to February 15.) Some eighty paintings, a generous selection of drawings, lithographs, and posters, demonstrate a brilliant achievement compressed into a brief and bitter life.

Toulouse-Lautrec, his friend van Gogh, and van Gogh's friend, Gauguin, form a star-crossed trio whose world-wide fame is doubly secure, because their tormented lives have passed from the art bookshelf to popular novels and the glamour and inaccuracy of film biographies.

TO THE extent that these legends, however distorted and oversimplified, increase the public's desire to see their work, there can be no complaint. But this also involves the great danger that the emotional aura cast by the twice-told tales may get in the way of really seeing and evaluating the art itself—the main reason, after all, why their lives are of prime interest.

Shown are paintings from 1879, when the artist was fifteen—and already capable of oils tingling with extraordinary vigor, motion, and authoritative handling—to 1900, the year before his death at thirty-seven. Included are several of his finest performances: At the Moulin Rouge, and the biting, incisive La Goulue Entering the Moulin Rouge, both of 1892; and the keen, memorable composition of a brothel, The Salon in the Rue des Moulins, of 1894.

The early paintings deal with horses and hunters, echoes of his early desires and family traditions. They are quiet in color and orthodox in composition. But, by the age


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of twenty-eight, Lautrec mastered the audacious arrangement, the startling colors, the linear flow, and a novelist-like insight into people and places, in the extraordinary At the Moulin Rouge.

In this painting the keynote is set by two unorthodox devices; at the right, an enormous girl's face, like some idol or symbol of night life, bathed in green, with chrome-yellow hair, stares out of the canvas; at the left, an orange balustrade sweeps diagonally into the center. Like a huge screen close-up, these units leap over normal perspective and catapult the observer into the scene.

In the famous brothel interior Lautrec again contrives a seemingly casual grouping into an arresting composition. Here there is an even greater economy of means in probing the mood of a face, the individuality of a specific locale, and an atmosphere of dejection and boredom amid lush walls. Lautrec does not sentimentalize or moralize; yet it would be a mistake to view it as an objective, cold-eyed fragment of reality, devoid of insight and compassion.

These brothel interiors, and the portraits of inmates, are part and parcel of the nineteenth-century goal, of novelist and playwright as well as painter, to oppose artificiality and hypocrisy with a searching realism, and to use realism to interpret aspects of life hitherto rejected as out-of-bounds for art.

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For Lautrec worshipped truth. "Were I not a painter, I'd wish to be a doctor, a surgeon. . . . I have aimed at rendering the true, not the ideal," he wrote when he was seventeen. And years later, immersed in the glitter and sordidness of Montmarte dives, he told Vyette Guilbert: "Everywhere and always ugliness has its beautiful aspects; it is thrilling to discover them where nobody else has noticed them."

Besides such bold, massive compositions, there are deft, delicate, and equally brilliant paintings. Yvette Guilbert Making a Bow quivers with life, with gesture, with the sense of stage light and stage smile—a transient moment fixed forever. Equally memorable as characterization is the unflattering portrait of Oscar Wilde, pale, soft, with pink lips, and an imperial dignity in his pose.

TO itemize outstanding paintings would be almost duplicating the catalog. And after the paintings come the drawings—vivid, instantaneous, records of people. Lautrec's line is rich, supple, and vivid; now dark, now pale and delicate. And the lithographs are a world in themselves; the astonishing, almost abstract whirl of skirts of the dancer Miss Loie Fuller, the brilliant patterns in La Clownesse Assise, the bouncing legs of dancer Ida Heath—all is motion, delicacy, telling gesture, insight, and creative form.

The entire group—paintings, drawings, and lithographs—immortalize a teeming galaxy of colorful individuals. "Nothing exists but the figure," he declared. Landscape or still life left Lautrec cold.

As they had earlier with Daumier, many admired Lautrec as merely a caricaturist. Others, ready to admit his impressive ability, were repelled by the subjects. One English critic declared that he "typifies the most genuine phase of modern Franch art—the cult of vulgarity and ugliness. . . ." But Gustave Geffroy (who also defended the neglected Cezanne) put his finger on an important point: "There is in Lautrec an innate sense of caricature which it would be a great pity to repress, because it is rich in its exposure of social pretensions and moral blemishes."

MAURICE UTRILLO died on November 5, at the age of 71, A self-taught painter, he was the son of Suzanne Valadon, who posed for Lautrec and Renoir. She was also a notable self-taught painter.

In the years before the first World War, Utrillo, a heavy-drinking Bohemian, fired with the poetry of Montmarte streets, painted a famous series of touching, tender, and subtly colored portraits of the rows of white and grey plaster houses, delicate and fragile, with appealing textures and tonal harmonies. But Utrillo's gifts were limited, and they waned. Exploited by some dealers, he began to turn out a mass of street scenes almost bordering on the pretty and the superficial. They became enormously popular; they were ideal for those who wanted the prestige of owning modern art, but who preferred examples without the strong red meat of the truly significant twentieth-century paintings.

In Hollywood, where no tycoon's home dares to show its face without a Utrillo, they became known as "indoor Cadillacs" or "indoor swimming pools." And few auctions were complete without a small quota of manufactured Utrillos—recalling the well-worn remark that "Corot painted some 2,000 landscapes, of which 6,000 are in the United States."

Now that Utrillo is dead, and the best of his work, the oils that will charm and endure, have long since entered museums and private collections, the number of fakes will undoubtedly increase.

A long New York *Times* obituary declares that Utrillo, having ". . . a mind that could at best be called feeble . . ." nevertheless, "was able to produce work that is rated just behind Picasso and Matisse." This is far-fetched praise, when one considers Braque, Soutine, Rouault, Modigliani, Klee, or Kandinsky. For Utrillo was essentially a primitive, with a primitive's naive charm, and like many primitives, uneven in quality and narrow in viewpoint. Yet he overcame staggering personal obstacles to paint dozens of memorable canvasses. With giants in the field, the role of a fine minor painter in twentieth-century art is no minor category.

NOTE: In my column in the issue of November 2, I inadvertently referred to Brancusi's Bird in Space as Bird in Flight.



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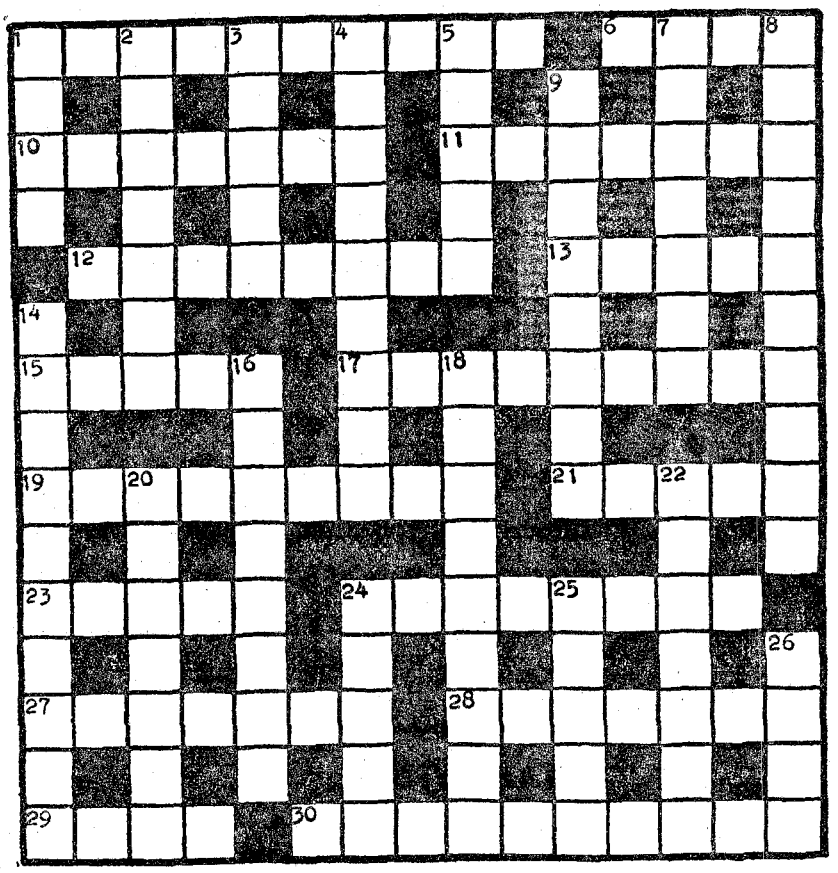
# Crossword Puzzle No. 647

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



## ACROSS

1 Little Old Dominion left the track, when such a track is left. (5,5)
6 See 5 down.
10 Birds and animals made tough game for Alice. (7)
11 He seems to be upside with nothing on at first. (7)
12 ——Grapes, thus making raisins miscellaneous details. (8)
13 The best of ease, when about lit. (5)
15 A man who acts, obviously. (5)
17 Are pins saved thus in inanity? (9)
19 See 1 down.
21 Current Chinese leader about a Portuguese coloney. (5)
23 Choose 13. (5)
24 Stir when broken in the stopper—it's coming apart. (8)
27 Brutus was the last one. (7)
28 Evidently one foot is not counted when they charge for cattle. (7)
29 and 26 down. The front shouldn't be false, either, this time. (8)
30 Fire together with celebration of the sport. (10)

## DOWN

1 and 19 across Does he help settle accounts with the crime syndicate? (4-9)
2 Certainly not against a safety device being used liberally. (7)
3 The squared circle isn't, except for a few minutes there, (5)
4 "Tree" and "river" might suggest a larger pet than "Tit-willow". (9)
5 and 6 across Cromwell presses time, it seems. (9)
7 Bereave. (7)
8 Puss is none the worse for hanging! (10)
9 If you do to refer, you get a method for ascertaining will. (8)
14 Is the reverse in trousers? (10)
16 One might, when the set doesn't work. (4,4)
18 Delineation of a beam in the door. (9)
20 Ground meal, red and green. (7)
22 Able to make lace a musical production. (7)
24 Reputedly intractable circle under Aaron, for example. (5)
25 Rather sticky delay? (5)
26 See 29 across.

### SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 646

ACROSS: 1, 12, 5, 36, 20 and 37 INTO THE VALLEY OF DEATH RODE THE SIX HUNDRED; 9 NOTES; 10 OAR; 15 OSCINE; 16 DEBTORS; 19 AS IS; 22 and 21 LATE BLOOMERS; 23 AXES; 25 SWERVES; 27 ASSETS; 28 DEIFIC; 33 HALLE; 34 OWE; 35 and 17 SPARE RIBS. DOWN: 1, 11, 18 and 14 IT NEVER RAINS BUT IT POURS; 2 TOTAL; 3 and 28 TOSSED SALAD; 4 ETON; 5 OURS; 6 DURESS; 7 ALIBI; 8 HOSTELS; 13 YELLOWS; 15 ORDERED; 22 LEATHER; 24 SUCCEED; 25 STREET; 26 SEASON; 30 FLAIR; 31 LOBE; 32 MESH.

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